

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 12394 01 OF 03 291900Z

43

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03

OMB-01 ACDA-19 OIC-04 CU-04 RSR-01 /150 W
----- 087150

P R 291849Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7131

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 12394

GENEVA FOR US DELEGATION CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRG VIEWS ON EVE OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE
MEETINGS

REF: BONN 10982

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 12394 01 OF 03 291900Z

SUMMARY: DURING AUGUST 27 TOUR D'HORIZON WITH EMBOFF, CSCE DEPT. CHIEF VON GROLL DESCRIBED FRG THINKING ON ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS OF CSCE COMMITTEE PHASE AND COMMENTED ON GERMAN TACTICAL APPROACHES TO FIRST AND THIRD BASKETS. THIRD COUNTRY AND FOLLOW-UP ISSUES ALSO CAME UP BRIEFLY. ECONOMIC COOPERATION TOPICS TO BE REPORTED BY SEPTEL. END SUMMARY

1. COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND ORGANIZATION. WITH AMB. BRUNNER STAYING IN GERMANY FOR FUNERAL OF FDP SYG FLACH, GROLL WILL BE FRG REPRESENTATIVE AT THIS WEEK'S CSCE COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETINGS. GROLL SAID HE EXPECTS MEETINGS WILL LAST ABOUT THREE DAYS, THUS FREEING EC REPS FOR THEIR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE DUE EARLY NEXT WEEK IN COPENHAGEN. HE SAID EC-NINE COORDINATING COMMITTEE REPS WOULD CONSULT ON AFTERNOON OF AUGUST 28 AND NATO REPS WOULD CONSULT MORNING OF AUGUST 29. (AS A SIDE-LIGHT, GROLL SAID POLISH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER BISZTYGA, DURING AUGUST 27 BONN VISIT, INDICATED THAT POLES EXPECTED COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETINGS TO LAST THROUGH NEXT TUESDAY (SEPTEMBER 4). GROLL SAID THE FRG WAS PLEASED WITH THE ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS SET OUT IN CM (73) 69 OF AUG.16. HE SAID THE GERMANS ALSO LIKED THE "BELGIAN CALENDAR" COVERING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF COMMITTEE AND SUB-COMMITTEE MEETINGS. WHILE BONN COULD IMAGINE SOME COMBINATION OF ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEES (EXAMPLE: ELIMINATING COMMITTEE ON ANY OTHER BUSINESS), THE FRG WOULD BE OPPOSED TO REAL REDUCTIONS IN THE AGREED NUMBER OF SUB-COMMITTEES. GROLL SAID THE GERMANS HAD SPELLED OUT THIS BASIC NATO APPROACH TO BISZTYGA AND THE LATTER HAD VOICED NO OBJECTIONS.

2. EASTERN REPRESENTATION. BESIDES SAYING HE WOULD REPRESENT POLAND AT GENEVA COMMITTEE PHASE, BISZTYGA TOLD THE GERMANS THAT THE CHIEF USSR REP WOULD BE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER KOVALEV AND THAT THE SOVIET DEPUTY REP WOULD BE A "YOUNGER DOBRYNIN;" (GROLL SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THE LATTER WAS RELATED TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO US.) GROLL SAID BONN UNDERSTANDS ZORIN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 12394 01 OF 03 291900Z

WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN COMMITTEE PHASE; FROM

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 12394 02 OF 03 291908Z

43

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03

ACDA-19 OMB-01 OIC-04 CU-04 RSR-01 /150 W

----- 087248

P R 291849Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7132

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 12394

TALKS WITH THE POLES, IT APPEARED THAT MENDELEVITCH
ALSO MIGHT NOT PARTICIPATE. AS TO RUMORS CONCERNING
UP-COMING MEETING BETWEEN GROMYKO AND SCHEEL, GROLL
SAID THE MEETING HAD BEEN TENTATIVELY AGREED TO DURING
BREZHNEV VISIT IN BONN. IDEA WAS FOR GROMYKO AND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 12394 02 OF 03 291908Z

SCHEEL TO MEET DURING CSCE COMMITTEE PHASE. THE TWO WILL SEE EACH OTHER DURING UNGA SESSION IN NEW YORK AND THE GERMANS DO NOT THEMSELVES INTEND TO RAISE THE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE MEETING WITH THE RUSSIANS.

3. FIRST BASKET PRINCIPLES. GROLL RECALLED THE TACTICAL APPROACH REPORTED REFTEL PARAS 2 AND 3, ARGUING THAT IF SATISFACTORY DECLARATION COULD BE APPROVED IN ALLIANCE BEFORE SEPTEMBER 18, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO TABLE OVERALL WESTERN CONCEPT OF SECURITY PRINCIPLES IN ORDER TO BALANCE ALREADY TABLED SOVIET PAPER AND THUS TO PROVIDE CONTEXT FOR DETAILED INDUCTIVE COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS. THE FONOFF WORKING LEVEL HAD PROPOSED SUCH AN APPROACH TO STATE SECRETARY FRANK BUT THE LATTER HAD NOT YET MADE A FINAL DECISION. THERE IS SOME CONCERN IN BONN THAT COMMITTEE WORK ON THE FIRST BASKET NOT PROGRESS MORE RAPIDLY THAN THE THIRD (MORE DETAILED) FREER MOVEMENT BASKET. THERE IS ALSO SOME CONCERN THAT THE "GENERALLY EXCELLENT" FRENCH DECLARATION NOT BE TABLED SO SOON AS TO PERMIT THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE IT TO PIECES. THE FRG ALSO WISHES TO APPLY THE "BOTTOMS-UP APPROACH" IN ALL THREE BASKETS AND FEARS THAT PREMATURE TABLING OF AN ENTIRE DECLARATION MIGHT AFFORD THE SOVIETS A PRETEXT TO OPPOSE AN INDUCTIVE APPROACH IN BASKETS TWO AND THREE. NONETHELESS, THE FOREIGN OFFICE STILL TENDS TO FAVOR TABLING WESTERN DECLARATION AT THE BEGINNING OF GENEVA PHASE IF THE PAPER IS IN SATISFACTORY SHAPE AT THAT TIME. THE REAL QUESTION HERE IS WHETHER A CONSENSUS CAN BE FOUND AMONG THE ALLIES ON THE PERSISTING DELICATE ISSUES OF SELF-DETERMINATION, SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, NON-INTERFERENCE AND THE LINKAGE BETWEEN INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND RENUNCIATION OF

4. IN THIS CONNECTION, GROLL SAID THAT POL DIRECTOR VAN WELL'S AUGUST 10 DISCUSSION IN PARIS WITH FRENCH POL DIRECTOR PUAUX HAD RESULTED IN SOME ENHANCED FRENCH UNDERSTANDING ON THE ABOVE CITED ISSUES, PARTICULARLY SELF-DETERMINATION AND LINKAGE. ON SELF DETERMINATION, VAN WELL HAD TERMED FRENCH FORMU TOO NARROW AND HAD ARGUED FOR CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF "PEOPLE" CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 12394 02 OF 03 291908Z

RATHER THAN JUST OF STATES. GROLL IMPLIED THAT FRG OBJECTIONS ON NON-INTERFERENCE PROBABLY WILL NOT BE PUSHED AS STRONGLY, GIVEN KEY WESTERN GOAL OF OBTAINING ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE. THESE ISSUES REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED AND FRG THINKS REVISED FRENCH PAPER DUE ON AUGUST 31 MAY TAKE GERMAN CONCERNS MORE INTO ACCOUNT.

THE FRG CONCERN IS THAT FRANCE MIGHT SIMPLY TABLE ITS
DECLARATION AS A NATIONAL PAPER SEPTEMBER 18, DESPITE
RESERVATIONS OF OTHER ALLIES.

5. THIRD BASKET - HUMAN CONTACTS. GROLL SAID THE FRG
IS SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS TO DATE IN SPC DISCUSSIONS
OF FREER MOVEMENT ISSUES. HE SAID GENERAL AGREEMENT
ON PAPERS TO BE INTRODUCED AS NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS
WOULD BE SATISFACTORY AND THAT DETAILED WESTERN
MANDATES (AS IN MPT) WOULD NOT BE ESSENTIAL. WHAT WAS
IMPORTANT WAS THAT A SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS BE REACHED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 12394 03 OF 03 291907Z

43

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03

OMB-01 ACDA-19 OIC-04 CU-04 RSR-01 /150 W

----- 087251

P R 291849Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7133

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 12394

SO THAT, AT A MINIMUM, NO ALLY WOULD CONTRADICT ANOTHER
WESTERN NATIONAL PAPER ON FREER MOVEMENT. IT WOULD BE
EVEN BETTER IF CONSENSUS DEVELOPED THAT ALL ALLIES
COULD SUPPORT WESTERN NATIONAL PAPERS. GROLL EXPRESSED
THE VIEW THAT THE BREZHNEV, ZHUKOV STATEMENTS ON
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 12394 03 OF 03 291907Z

"VICTORY THROUGH CONTACTS" (MOSCOW 9890) SINGALED A
SOVIET READINESS TO ACCEPT SOME SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS IN
FREERMOVEMENT AREA. HE SAID THE POLISH/BULGARIAN
DRAFT TABLED AT THE HELSINKI MINISTERIAL SUPPORTED
THIS ANALYSIS AS DID THE PUBLICATION OF THE ENTIRE MPT
DOCUMENT IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. ON THE OTHER HAND
GROLL TOLD EMBOFF OF RECENT STATEMENT MADE TO HIM BY
SOVIET EMBASSY COUNSELOR (BONN) THAT THE FRG SHOULD
NOT EXPECT TO GET MORE ON FREER MOVEMENT MULTILATERALLY
THAN IT DID FROM THE INNER-GERMAN BASIC RELATIONS
TREATY. GROLL TOLD EMBOFF BONN WOULD AIM HIGHER BUT
WOULD CONSIDER SUCH A MULTILATERAL RESULT TO BE A
GOOD ONE.

6. FOLLOW-ON.AS REPORTED BONN 12182 PARA 3, THE ALLEGED
SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR A CSCE PERMANENT ORGANIZATION IN
BERLIN CAME UP INFORMALLY DURING A MEETING WITH CZECH
REPS AT THE HELSINKI MINISTERIAL. GROLL SAID THIS
SUGGESTION WAS A NON-STARTER. HE SAID THE FRG WAS
OPPOSED TO A PERMANENT SECRETARIAT BUT COULD CONSIDER
"MEETINGS OF THE BRUNNERS AND VESTS" EVERY SIX MONTHS
OR SO AT ROTATING CAPITALS. GROLL SAID PUAUX HAD TOLD
VAN WELL THAT PARIS THOUGHT EASTERN INTEREST IN FOLLOW-
ON ISSUE HAD WANED, CITING ABSENCE OF SUBJECT IN RECENT
CRIMEA WARSAW PACT COMMUNIQUE. GROLL SAID GERMANS ARE
NOT SO SURE THAT SOVIET APPROACH NOT SIMPLY TACTICAL,
GIVEN WEIGHT POLES ATTACHED TO SUBJECT IN RECENT
CONSULTATIONS IN BONN (SEPTTEL).

7. THIRD COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTIONS. GROLL SAID FRG
WISHED TO LIMIT THIRD COUNTRY CONTRIBUTIONS TO
SUBSTANTIVE CONFINES OF AGENDA AND FAVOR EQUAL TREATMENT
FOR ARAB COUNTRIES AND ISRAEL. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT
OTHER EC PARTNERS HAD DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT,
NOTING PUAUX'S ARGUMENTS TO VAN WELL THAT ALGERIA AND

TUNISIA SHOULD RECEIVE PREFERRED TREATMENT.
HILLENBRAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN12394
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS HILLENBRAND
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973089/aaaaagio.tel
Line Count: 333
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BONN 10982
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <14-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: FRG VIEWS ON EVE OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETINGS
TAGS: PFOR, GE, NATO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005